

IN COLORADO

The Situation in the So-Called Socialist Party, Described from Within.

[From the Seattle, Wash., Socialist, Feb. 22, 1903.]

THE DENVER MIX-UP.

Denver, Colo., Feb. 13, 1903.

Editor Socialist:

Your criticism in the Socialist of February 1, on the resolution of the Colorado S. E. C. about speakers' cards does the S. E. C. an injustice, as you do not know all the facts in the case. The S. E. C. are only carrying out the will of the party. The issuing of speakers' cards is made mandatory by the constitution of the party and was passed by referendum by all the members in the State.

A careful reading of my article in the Colorado Chronicle of February 11, a marked copy of which I send you, will let you know the real situation in Colorado. I will now try to give you some more of the particulars in the movement here, and as I shall be personal, to make it plain to you, you may publish it over my signature or not as you please.

There are in the city of Denver three factions: one, headed by R. A. Southworth, thinks that so they call themselves Socialists and vote the party ticket it is all that is needed to make themselves so.

They teach religion called "New Thought," Single Tax, Democratic doctrine, Opportunism, Populism, the Golden Rule, etc., as Socialism.

The second faction, headed by R. A. Maynard, are well posted in Socialism.

They are generally made up of the intellectual class, such as lawyers, preachers, money lenders and politicians.

The third faction is led by B. E. Morris of Denver, and Fechyew, Fox and Stark of Teller county.

These four are workmen, holding cards from labor unions.

These four, together with R. A. Maynard, Cropton and Miss Brooks, form the S. E. C. of which Maynard and Miss Brooks are preachers.

The third faction represent the workmen, some of them are well founded in Socialism and all are class conscious workmen.

About two years ago R. A. Southworth brought the crusader into the State. The first to come was J. Stitt Wilson. Charles H. Vail came through at the same time and was treated badly by Southworth. He organized the party in a little ante-room, however, and at the close of the Wilson meetings several hundreds came into it.

These were of the petty middle class, voting in the Democratic party. They thought that Socialism was a sort of Golden Rule Jesus Mixing policy and as soon as the few of the Morris faction got hold of them, they left. About the time we got them weeded out and got the movement tolerably clear, Wilson came again and the thing had to be done over again.

Then a lot more crusaders came like buzzards to a carcass. The fall campaign came on and these men organized locals composed largely of the old Populists of the State; middle class people, with as many different ideas of what Socialism is as there are individuals among them.

During the campaign old party political trickery was used by the Maynard and Southworth factions in carrying on the campaign. The county campaign committee were composed exclusively of the middle class, lawyers, preachers and money lenders, headed by D. C. Coates, ex-lieutenant governor, a well known slick politician.

The city ticket was gotten up by these men on a week day night when the workmen could not attend, many of the leading workmen not knowing when or where it was to be held, and only finding out when the ticket came out in the capitalist papers.

After the election the time limit of all speakers' cards had run out. The four members of the S. E. C. who are workmen—Morris, Fechyew, Fox and Stark—issued a speakers' card to Mrs. Haskell, making her State organizer, to go over the State to clear up the movement. The Social crusaders, Southworth and all others, were refused cards. The issuing or non-issuing of cards was according to the laws of the State constitution. This has made trouble, and Southworth and the crusaders are posing as martyrs, and are making endeavors to throw the big four out of the S. E. C. The faction under Maynard and D. C. Coates, although some of them are well posted Socialists, go with the Southworth element to throw out the four of the State committee, who are workmen holding trade union cards.

This allows that the Socialist position holds good, that the intellectuals, no matter how well posted on Socialism, are not to be trusted. They are self-conscious, not class-conscious. They are in it for a graft.

There is a ridiculous scheme now on foot hatched by Maynard, to send a crusader out to collect money over the State, they being Joe Landis at that, outside the Methodists. It is a sight to see the tears run down their faces while they plead for money. Then Maynard and his wife, Miss Tupper Maynard, will take the money and go over the State teaching classes. They will stay possibly a week in a place. Think of these old Populists and middlebrows learning Socialism in a week, which it has taken us years to learn. Think of the expense—but it comes out of the pockets of these middle-class middlebrows and if they

are willing, I don't know why we should care, but it is a pity, isn't it, that things should be made so hard?

When we have pointed out the harm done us by Wilson, some of the members of the Local say that he is scientific, because the Seattle Socialist quotes him, and yet they will admit that he might speak three hundred and sixty-five times in a year and no one learn anything in Socialism. The trouble with us is that he and his brethren drain the State of money and teach nothing—bring a lot of middle-class into the movement and leave us in such an exhausted state that we can raise no funds to educate with.

This is a brief history of the Socialist movement in Colorado. You can see we are having troubles of our own, and are in continual fear that through ignorance, political trickery, grafting, etc., the movement will get away from the working class and become an auxiliary of the Democratic party.

Internally yours,

Britta Morris.

5833 King Street, Denver.

DEGENERACY.

Effect of Capitalism on the Nutmeg State.

New Haven, Feb. 24—"I have three sons," said the Rev. Dr. H. L. Hutchins, formerly pastor of Taylor Congregational Church of this city, but now the agent for the Connecticut Bible Society, "and if I were given my choice of sending them to live with some of the poor whites in some of the island towns of this State or sending them into the slums of New York to live I would choose the slums."

Dr. Hutchins made this statement yesterday before the ministers of this city who belong to the Federation of Local Pastors. His subject was "The Religious Conditions in Connecticut." He goes into every town in the State during the year, and to the New Haven clergymen he told about the wretched degeneracy of many of the residents of some of the smaller places in Connecticut. He started his clerical audience.

Dr. Hutchins said that not very far from the outskirts of New Haven there was a condition of social affairs that would astonish his hearers and that bordered very closely on polygamy. He explained that this condition was due in a large measure to the thinly settled condition of some of the country towns and the custom among the inhabitants of intermarrying. Dr. Hutchins declared that the old New England blood, that was once the pride of the people of this part of the world, was rapidly becoming an obsolete quantity in three hamlets of Connecticut.

One of the towns of the State that he pointed to as being especially prominent for viciousness and absolute indifference to religion was Ashford, where, he said, there are 197 families, thirty-six per cent. of which do not attend any church, where all the stores are open on Sunday, where the people work on Sunday as they do any other day in the week, and where the greatest curse of the people, as well as in other small villages, was hard cider.

The ambition of the young men of the town, he said, was to belong to the band that furnishes the music for the Saturday night dances. He said that only six families of the place were of the good old American stock.

The Bible agent was of the opinion that gross immorality was to be found in some of these spots. He said that in one place he found eight men living with their housekeepers. Over near the Rhode Island line Dr. Hutchins found a man living with two women, who was playing a game of hide and seek with the authorities of Connecticut and Rhode Island. When the Rhode Island officials got after him for his misconduct he shipped the two women friends over into Connecticut and when Connecticut made a move to prosecute him he just stepped over into Rhode Island with the women. He added:

"There is more imbecility and murder in those small places than in the larger towns in the State and the greatest curse of Connecticut to-day is hard cider."

In one house Dr. Hutchins found twenty-one persons living in five rooms, including the aged parents, a married son and two married daughters, with their children. There were two boarders in the family. He described the conditions of some of the residents in the northwestern part of the State as poor mountain whites. One of their vicious habits was opium eating.

One town he visited had four churches, three of which, he said, were dead and the fourth was in charge of a discouraged minister.

"In the town of Salisbury," continued the Bible agent, "there are twenty-five of these wretched families of the degenerate type."

In his opinion lack of educational facilities is, in a measure, responsible for these deplorable conditions. He said that the school teachers in those neglected communities received a little better than starvation wages. One young woman teacher he knew of received \$5 a week salary and had to pay \$4 for board.

The Chicago American, one of Hearst's yellow journals, asks its readers, "Are you an unconscious Socialist?" If they read the Democratic opiates, mislabeled editorials, in the American, they are likely to be; for those opiates are enough to render even a Socialist unconscious, if the habit is indulged in long enough.

Roosevelt's account of the origin of the race war indicates that Platt does not agree with his aspirations for President. Platt wants to be with the winning candidate, as usual.

POLITICAL WANDERINGS

Experiences of a Populist Candidate For Assembly.

The Populist state convention served to stimulate our club to greater activity, and we decided to nominate a full local ticket. I was put up as a candidate for Assembly in the district in which I lived. As the state convention had nominated me as a candidate for presidential elector, my name appeared twice on the official ballot.

So far as I could learn there was no other Populist in the district, and to me was left the work of getting signatures to the nominating petitions, local, county and state. I then realized the amount of work that had to be done to place a minority party candidate in the field. But I was enthusiastic, and worked like a beaver.

There were many amusing incidents connected with the work of getting signatures. Most people looked upon it as a scheme to get them to sign their death warrants. The wage workers were the most obliging. The little storekeeper was the hardest to approach. One of them, however, whom I patronized, begged me not to insist on him signing his name, as it might injure his trade. He patted me on the back and told me that he believed about as I did, and wished me every success. Two or three evenings after, I saw a Prohibition party worker coming out of this man's store rolling up a bunch of nominating petitions. The storekeeper seeing me there, called me in and said he was ready to sign my papers. I told him that if I couldn't fill my papers without his name I would rather have the nominations unfilled. Such spineless creatures were worthy of nothing but contempt.

Of course, in gathering names I approached many who were utter strangers to me. They would ask who the candidate for Assembly was. Without revealing that the individual stood before them I set forth his qualifications, said that I knew him, and with becoming modesty assured the inquirers that they would make no mistake in casting their votes for our candidate.

When the irksome work of getting signatures was over the next thing was to get before the voters. The organization was unable to give any help financially or otherwise. Under these circumstances, having to go it alone, I determined on a campaign with printed matter as the weapon. Having no family obligations, I could spare something from my earnings. Some friends, who laughed at the whole thing, responded quite liberally when I appealed to them.

But it was not so easy to get the campaign literature started. In this part of the country no literature of the movement was to be had, and what samples we had received from the West dealt so entirely with the wants of the bankrupt small farmer as to be unsuitable for the people whom we hoped to reach.

We had to create our own campaign literature, and as we hoped to enlist workmen voters we took up the "issues" in which we thought they might be interested. Luckily the platform was long enough and varied enough to meet almost any kind of a political demand, save the only one of interest to the class to whom we were about to appeal—the abolition of wage slavery.

It was the time of the famous so-called Reading Coal Combine. The outgoing legislature had practically legalized it, and my Democratic opponent, who was up for re-election, had voted for the bill. Of course, the great interest in the election, was the outcome nationally. I was running for a "local" office, and in appealing to the voters declared that: "While we may differ as to the proper party to manage our national affairs, yet we have but one common interest in local and state elections." Not until I learned from the S. L. P. did I realize that all elections, state or local, are influenced by national issues.

Then I sailed into the Coal Combine and the Assembly that had legalized it. I smile now at the bombast displayed in those "appeals to voters." I wonder if people who read them smiled when they were told: "Like a crown of infamy (blacker than the coal it cornered) that coal lies on the brow of the Assembly!" It was predicted that the next move would be to raise the price of the workers' food and clothes. I didn't know anything then about wages keeping at the subsistence point. Labor laws, "now but bright dreams on the horizon," were demanded, instead of legislation for rich corporations. Well, thanks to the S. L. P., I have learned the worth of such "labor laws" to the working class. The voters were told: "This is what we get when we allow professionals, politicians by occupation, ringsters by choice and bribe-takers on opportunity to govern us." Naturally there was but one way to rebuke all this, and I was the rebuke.

Another leaflet that I had printed in advocacy of my canvas took for its text the flippant remark of an officer of the Coal Combine, that an injunction granted against it by the courts "would have just as much effect as if it were granted against a tribe of Sioux Indians." I waxed eloquent over this, and called for a big avalanche of votes to sweep the "rebuke" into office to deal with an institution that declared itself above and beyond the law. "The crown must be taken from the usurpers and placed on the heads of the sovereign people."

These appeals I had distributed by the thousand. At that time my day's labor began at 1 p. m., and I spent several

hours each morning trudging around distributing the leaflets.

We had been led to expect great things from the "labor vote" by the union men in the party. My impression of the K. of L. was that it had millions of members. So boastfully did our K. of L. men talk that I concluded that at least every other workman I met was a union man. Counting on the fact that this great organization was "behind" us, I never approached a workman without in some way letting him know that we were indorsed by labor. This led to many curious experiences, one of which was typical.

One day in Bayonne I came across a lot of men digging for a sewer. As I handed a paper to one of them, he asked: "What's this?"

"Something the Knights of Labor are backing up," I answered, proudly.

"To hell with the Knights of Labor," said he, as he tore the paper into fragments and jammed them into the wet earth with his shovel.

I stood abashed, yet indignant, at his discourtesy. Glancing at me, he continued, very knowingly: "Young man, I was in that once. Don't you come near me with anything from the Knights of Labor." The last part of the sentence was uttered in such a contemptuous tone that the other diggers joined in a hearty laugh at my expense. I beat a hasty retreat—my first. I didn't understand the man then. After that I wasn't so forward in talking about our "backing."

The only aid that I received in my canvas was on one Sunday, when a well known "labor" man took me around and introduced me to his friends. I carried a lot of posters with me. The majority of the "labor" man's friends were saloonkeepers. After whispering to the presiding genius of the place that I was a candidate in whom the D. A. was interested, some of the posters were slipped to him, drinks were called for, and it was up to me to pay. If all those who in my election would have been unanimous. I asked the "labor" man if he didn't think it a waste of time and money to do propaganda that way. "Oh, no. The saloonmen, who are dependent on workmen for patronage, are friends of labor, and they and their friends will vote as we tell them."

At last came election day. My district was some five miles by one mile in extent. In those days the election laws allowed minority parties only a certain proportion of ballots. Thus our ballots would run out early in the day. We could, however, purchase as many additional ballots as we pleased, but had to distribute them to the polling places ourselves. All day long I hurried from polling place to polling place replenishing the ballots. At one place I found that those sent in by the election authorities had not been opened, let alone given out. I was indignant, declared every ballot deposited illegal, etc., etc. The men in the place were a bit discomfited, but the big cop, who was there to see that order was preserved, declared that I was acting disorderly, and told me to "quit beefing." One of the election officers declared that the matter was an oversight, and he guessed no one wanted to vote that ticket, anyway, or they would have had a call for the ballot. My appearance at the polling places with the supply of tickets was the signal for good-natured jolly by everyone present.

That evening as the Standard Oil works in Bayonne poured out their thousands of workers, I made my last effort. Few of those coming out but received a ballot which they could vote. After that I went home too tired to witness the count, which in those days often took until long after midnight.

Through it all I had no thought of election, but expected a respectable sized vote. The next morning when I scanned the papers there was no mention of our vote at all. But in the West we had done well. Twenty-two electoral votes were in the inside pockets of Weaver and Field.

It was weeks after that I learned the official count. I polled just thirty-six votes, running ahead of the ticket at that. Few would credit the amount of energy and money it took to poll those thirty-six. In the state we polled less than one thousand votes, but in the nation about 1,000,000. It was this green hill, far away, that kept us from going to pieces after the election. But as it was, the natural reaction set in, and the movement became dormant until the next Congressional campaign. Meanwhile the sobriquet "Assemblyman" clung to me long afterward.

(To Be Continued.)

Debs Turned Down.

The Kansas City World, of February 22, contained the following:

"Because the letter heads upon which was written the proposition whereby Eugene V. Debs would lecture here in the near future did not bear the label of the International Typographical Union, the Industrial Council yesterday refused to consider the communication at all, and as a result Eugene V. Debs will not lecture here. Debs as a labor leader and once candidate for president of the United States is very popular with workmen here, and his powers as a stirring orator are well known. The proposition turned down yesterday was to have Debs lecture here some time in March under the auspices of the Industrial Council and came from a Lyceum bureau in charge of Debs' lectures. The members of the council said that while they would like to have Debs here it is impossible for them to consider a proposition written on 'scab' letter paper."

THO' DODGING CAUGHT

The Volkszeitung and its Impudence Nailed Fast by Itself.

The important matter of a Socialist political party's control of its press having come up in scores of ways in these columns, and the "Volkszeitung," together with its English poodle, "The Worker," having been held up with uncontrovertible proofs as the horrible, the absurd example of a privately owned Socialist party press, the "Volkszeitung" found itself finally compelled to make some kind of an answer. It does so in its issue of the 1st instant in a many-columned article. The "answer" looks for all the world like the coon, that, smoked out of its hiding place, rushes forth into the open, frantic and bewildered; tries to bite, and is clubbed down senseless.

It was stated and proved in these columns that, from the editors down, everyone on the "Volkszeitung" and "Worker" is an employee, not of the Social Democratic party, but of a private corporation, the Volkszeitung Corporation; that all these employees are dependent for their places and their living upon the corporation; that the corporation has it in its power to admit what members of that party it chooses, and to keep out those it does not like. It was shown how the party's policy could be, and in this instance was dominated by a corporation. That such a paper can not be a safe mouthpiece of a Socialist political party is clear; and the contrast was shown with the Socialist Labor Party that owned and controlled its press absolutely. What answer does the "Volkszeitung" make? Here is the principal passage of the "answer":

"One of the most favorite prescriptions to meet the solution of this difficulty task (the protection of a Socialist paper) consists in the proposition that a Socialist paper shall belong neither to one person nor to an Association but to the 'whole party.' That sounds quite plausible, especially to those who in this matter have as yet no experience. But we need not go far to prove that a paper, which, theoretically, belongs to the 'whole party,' belongs, in fact, only to those who happen to have it in hand, and who figure as representatives of the party. If these are so minded to keep the paper in their own hands, even against the will of the party; or if they are not minded to edit the organ the way the party wishes, there is hardly any means to compel their obedience. How the thing is done we see best illustrated in the English organ of the old S. L. P. There can surely not be the slightest doubt to-day any longer that the original majority of the old S. L. P. looks upon the editorial management of the paper as a direct act of treason to that party. They have so expressed themselves through their most prominent mouthpieces. It might be objected to at this juncture that if the majority of the party upholds the attitude of the paper, whether out of ignorance or out of lack of understanding, it is nevertheless the majority that rules. But that is in seeming only. In point of fact matters are so that if the schemers were to allow the discontented and those who have seen through the purposes of the men in power to carry their agitation into the broad circles of the party, then in a short time a rebellion would break out, and a strong majority of the members would throw overboard the present Editor and Manager. But even this only in theory. We have not the slightest doubt—and we shall yet see the light—that even then those in power will find means and ways to keep the paper in their own hands. But they don't let it come so far. A watchful eye is kept on the membership. Whenever and whenever an opposition begins to stir itself, suspension and expulsion follow. From the individual and from whole Sections the power is taken away to make their influence effective with voice or vote. Thus we see to-day the strongest Sections, aye, whole States, thrown out of the old S. L. P.—but the paper remains in the hands of the schemers to the greater honor and aid of Capitalism."

Not bothering about the stack of silly falsehoods regarding the way the S. L. P. is conducted, or the "strong Sections and States thrown out," the argument amounts to this: No Socialist political party should be trusted with its own paper. The argument is not that the S. L. P. is a particularly wicked thing, or particularly unfit. That would be no argument. Even the sleepy Volkszeitung realizes that. "The argument cited the particularly 'wicked' and unfit S. L. P. merely as an illustration. It says expressly: 'We need not go far to prove that a paper, which, theoretically, belongs to the 'whole party' belongs, in fact, only to those who have it in hand, and who figure as the representatives of the party.' The argument is against: and all party-ownership. So that the party representatives may be trusted with the party's policy, campaigns, etc., but not with the press. Seeing, however, that its press is the most powerful agitatorial weapon of a party, and its best medium for upholding its policy, it follows that the Volkszeitung Corporation holds that its party may toy with the lesser weapons, but that

the more important weapon must be held over the party's head, in private hands, to knock it down with if necessary.—And this is just the theory we have maintained the Volkszeitung goes by, and the positive danger it is to its party. The Volkszeitung's "answer" proves our point against it.

But the smoked-out coon of a Volkszeitung, in jumping out of its hiding place, is even more demented than the passage quoted above would indicate. "In vino veritas," is the common saying: it seems however that in "smoked-out" there is lots of truth also. After some general twaddling, indulged in after the passage above translated, the "Volkszeitung" lets out the following gigantic cat from its corporation bag:

"So that we may, with the easiest conscience, maintain that the 'Volkszeitung' and ITS SEVERAL PUBLICATIONS are in every sense STRICTLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THOSE GERMAN MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK PARTY who know what they are at." [The underscoring is ours.]

We shall pass by the preposterousness of the idea that a corporation made up extensively as is the Volkszeitung corporation, of usurious money-lenders, small retail grocery-men, pluck-me-stores keeping employers, lager beer vending Anarchists, sick and death benefit stiffs and such other tax-paying middle class folks, to say nothing of run-away German embezzlers and other German fishy characters, are the proper material to entrust with a Socialist political party's press. No doubt such folks "know what they are at." That their class instincts are neither a reliable nor a desirable rudder for a Socialist movement is elemental. Preposterous, however, as the claim is on the part of such an element to be the proper custodians of a Socialist paper, such claim does not begin to compare with the impudence that the passage just quoted betrays in so many words. "The several publications" of the corporation, the article declares, are "in every sense strictly under the control of those German members of the New York party, who know what they are at." Among these "several publications" is "The Worker," an English organ of the Social Democratic party. Consequently, an English organ of the party, an organ, at that, that has a monopoly of their party's Eastern movement, such an English organ is "in every sense strictly under the control" of Germans! And the statement is made with the cool assurance that that is the proper way.

For preposterousness and for impudence the attitude of the Volkszeitung corporation transcends everything in that line. In a German country there might be a color to the claim that a paper in English be "in every sense strictly under the control" of Germans. That such a state of things should also prevail in an English speaking country is a notion that can only take root in the head of idiots. The sane German would never advance such a proposition.

In making the preposterous declaration, the Volkszeitung unwittingly let out a cat. It is the ugly cat which caused early friction between it and the Socialist Labor Party. It is the cat of its stupid contempt for the Americans and silly superstition in favor of the German, as German. It is the cat of its abortive attempt to fasten upon the Socialist Labor Party of America the yoke of those Germans whom the corporation considered sufficiently degenerate to admit into its sacred precincts. It is the cat that calls to mind the virile course of the S. L. P. in successfully resisting the attempt to be thus subjugated by an offensively alien element, and the potent kick the S. L. P. gave the corporation, a kick that caused the Volkszeitung corporations' teeth to rattle, and from which it will never recover.

Interesting, in this connection, is the fact that the very "American" elements which the corporation justly used to point out as "hopelessly stupid, ignorant and corrupt," and which it stupidly considered as typical of the American—the Hanfords, the Neboys, the Salsburgs, the Scrimshaws, the Borrowers, the Lees, the Max Hayes, the Harrimans, the Abbots, etc., etc.—are the very elements that are now meekly submitting to the yoke that the S. L. P. shattered, and are shoved forward by the Volkszeitung Corporation as its "American" manikins.

The Volkszeitung Corporation sought to dodge in its answer to the S. L. P. charge that it was a private corporation and as such unfit to be the owner of the press of a bona fide Socialist party, its own answer nails it fast. It is caught, and proves our case. What Socialist, unless he be a pitrover will continue to submit to such a galling yoke, and one maintained with such cool effrontery as the yoke of the picked Volkszeitung Corporation Germans who "know what they are at"?

The opposition of both operators and mine workers' "leaders" to the plan of payments proposed by the coal strike commission, indicates that the commission will render a report declaring a solution of the trouble impossible. This will enable both sides of the controversy to resume hostilities without being accused of a breach of faith.

A handshake is all the reward that one gets out of politics, according to Gov. Odell. Last fall David B. Hill showed that Gov. Odell's "rewards" amounted to a li' more than that.

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The workman, who begins to grasp the significance of the class struggle and desires to fit himself with the knowledge necessary for a militant Socialist, is often at a loss to know what literature to read first. To aid and direct him, the Labor News Company recommends the following elementary books, to be read in the order given:

1. What Means This Strike?

2. Reform or Revolution?

THE FARMER

Capitalism Is Transforming Him Into a Tenant or "Help," or Is Driving Him Altogether From the Soil.

In all previous epochs of our history as a nation, in the revolution and in the civil war, it was from the farmer class that the revolutionary hosts sprang. It was the unbattered farmers at Lexington who fired the "shot heard round the world," and from that class also came the heroes who followed brave John Brown, and who afterward gave their last blood in the ranks of the union armies. Because of their prominence in the revolutions of the past, many are disposed to believe that the farmer element must play the same role in the impending conflict; that they will be as conspicuously present and necessary in the social and political revolution in which the Socialist is engaged. With this idea in mind, nearly all recent political movements have endeavored to enlist the sympathy and support of the farmers. The Socialist Labor Party alone has refused to cater to that element; to compromise or to seek entangling alliance with them. As the political representative of the wage-working class, it recognizes that a movement for the emancipation of the workers must be dominated and controlled by the workers themselves, and it also recognizes that the political and economic struggle has passed from the hands of the farmers and that they are numerically and economically growing weaker from year to year.

It is a prerequisite to the consciousness of a class in a movement that the class exist in force. During the revolution and the civil war the farmer class was such a force. To-day that class is an actual minority of the whole population. It, together with its city counterparts—the small shopkeeper, etc.—and even including the big capitalists, are fewer than the wage-workers. Furthermore, before the oncoming capitalist domination, with world-wide competition for world-wide markets, the farmer class is destined to be still further whittled out, and will disappear or drop into the ranks of the proletariat or propertyless class.

Tenant Farming.
The census reports of 1900 show that during the last decade the percentage of tenant-operated farms increased in every State and territory, except in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire; but in these three States tenantry only decreased one-third of one per cent. The average period (1880-1900) also shows but three exceptions, Arizona, New Hampshire and Florida; in the former two only a trifling decrease, while in the latter, though the unloading of "orange groves" on the too susceptible Northerners gave a slight decreased percentage, the number of tenant farms increased from 16,199 to 20,994. There were 2,005,286 farm tenants in America in 1900, an increase in twenty years of 97.7 per cent. There were 3,713,371 owners, part owners, "owners and tenants," and managers, an increase in twenty years of 24.4 per cent. Something more than every third farm is now tenant farm, the proportion for the nation being 55.3 per cent. While the Southern States generally show the greatest proportion of tenants, the greatest percentage of increase is revealed in the border, Northern and Western States.

During the year 1901 some 20,000 farmers crossed the border into Canada to seek new homes, and last year over 40,000 followed. In many States the native farmer is being replaced by foreign-born tenants, who are accustomed to a lower standard of living than the native American. In the Eastern States thousands of farms are being deserted. In the central division the falling fences, unpainted buildings and skinny cattle show that the old-time prosperity is no more; while in the newer West, where machinery is used on a larger scale, long-distance freight rates and the greed of go-between make the life of the small farmer a continual squeeze, which rural free delivery of mails, rural telephone and the like cannot lessen. A few more years only are necessary to complete the downfall of the independent farmer of the land, who were once regarded as "nature's noblemen, the backbone of society, the foundation of industry, and the cornerstones of government."

Capitalist Farming.
Some years ago it was thought that when a man failed at everything else he could be a farmer; but the substitution of machinery for primitive methods has completely revolutionized agriculture. Success now not only requires brains, experience and large figuring, but also the command of large capital. Ten acres of land is a slogan of the past. It is now a matter of thousands of dollars' worth of machinery that is needed to till the soil, and with the advent of the capitalist farmer begins the decay of the small farmer. To save himself he ships mortgages after mortgage upon his land, until he is seen a tenant where once he was a lord. Then his holdings pass into the possession of the bonanza king; the owner of the machine becomes the owner of the land.

Capitalist development of agriculture has necessarily been slow, for the reason that, unlike the artisan who owned only the simple tools of his craft, the

farmer owned, beside his tools, the other important element in production—the land. This latter it takes more time for the capitalist to wrest from its possessor than it did for him to knock the tool from the hand of the mechanic; but machinery—farm machinery—aided him in his conquest.

Farming to-day is nearly an exact science and the superintendent who runs the modern up-to-date farm is thoroughly trained in one of the many agricultural colleges maintained in the various States "for the benefit of the farmers." He is a specialist. If it be dairying, grass or grain growing that he follows, he is fully posted on every little detail of his particular line. He uses steam, electricity or horses to do the work that was formerly done by hand. The superintendent lives in a spacious house, lighted by electricity, and he uses one part of it as an office, from which point, with the aid of local telephones, he directs all the operations of the farm, besides keeping in touch with the world's markets. The "hands" live but little better than the animals.

The modern farmer knows what he wants to do before he begins operations and adapts himself to the situation whatever it may be. He studies the climate he is in and he knows what line of farming it is best to follow under given climatic conditions. Then he analyzes the soil and thus ascertains just what fertilizers are needed for certain crops in that soil. If he is located in the great grain-growing districts of the West he uses a portable engine instead of horses for plowing and harrowing. On the level land there he puts anywhere from six to twelve plows in a gang and it is a poor day when he cannot plow anywhere from fifteen to thirty acres. By the old method a man and team would plow from one to two acres a day. The steam engine is used not only because of the great amount of work done by it, but because it does away with the expense of keeping many men and horses on the farm during the slack period.

Farm Machinery.
A recent invention, the Gatling plow, will revolutionize the science of farming as much as the introduction of the Gatling gun revolutionized the methods of warfare. One man, it is claimed, can accomplish as much with it in a day as thirty or forty men using from 60 to 80 horses operating the old-fashioned plows. It is operated by steam, and it will cost about \$6 a day to operate it if coal, wood or oil is used for fuel, or \$2 a day with gasoline. A comparative statement showing the cost of plowing by the acre will best show the advantage the owners of the Gatling plow will have over the farmers who must adhere to the old-fashioned methods. Such a statement shows three items in the cost of plowing at present:

By horse-power, per acre.....\$1.50
Rolling or pulverizing the soil..... 30
Harrowing..... 30

Total.....\$2.10
Plowing, rolling and harrowing with Gatling plow, per acre..... 50

Saving.....\$1.60

A wheat drill may also be attached to the Gatling plow and the grain sown as the soil is turned, thus affecting a further saving of 40 cents per acre. Then the motor can be separated from the plow and used for all kinds of heavy hauling, now done by horse power, and which, it is estimated, costs the farmers of the United States about \$900,000,000 annually.

If the farmer makes a specialty of corn, he has a corn planter. This is a low machine, with hoppers in one set and fertilizer in another. He hooks a team to it, settles back in a seat and is driven over the fields. This planter drops the corn either in continuous rows or at any distance desired by the operator. All he has to do is to set the gauge. Two rows are planted at the same time, or beans can be planted out of the same machine. It will drop the beans wherever they are wanted, and fertilize both properly at the same time. Also, if it is desired to grow pumpkins among the corn, which is a common practice, this obliging machine will drop the pumpkin seed at regular distances apart. A simple corn planter will plant from eight to twenty acres a day. When the corn is ready to be cut, a machine also does that work in the same rapid way.

Should the farmer sow grain, he does it with what is known as a grain drill, which sows the seed in eight rows at a time. The grain can be sown either in straight lines or zigzag, and the machine fertilizes the ground at the same time. In order that there may be no mistake as to the number of acres sown in a day, there is a clock-like device on the drill, which tells how many acres have been covered and also the quantity of seed that has been sown to the acre.

When the farmer wishes to sow his seed broadcast there is a simple machine that he attaches to the rear part of an ordinary farm wagon. The machine sows from fifty to one hundred acres by throwing the seed out broadcast, and the power to run it is derived from the hub of one of the rear wheels on the wagon. The machine is

very simple and looks like a big funnel with several cogwheels under it.

When his specialty is potatoes, the farmer handles them but little, for the way in which potatoes are planted nowadays does away with the old-fashioned method of cutting them for seed. They are cut still, but the cutting is done by a machine which separates them into quarters, halves or any number of parts as desired. All the operator has to do is to throw the potatoes into the machine and swing over a lever, and several cuts are made at one stroke.

When the potatoes have been cut they are dumped into a potato planter, which is operated by one man, who drives the horses, because the machines leave nothing else for him to do. This machine marks the rows where the potatoes are to be sowed. Then it opens the row, drops the seed and covers it with moist earth from beneath the surface. This is all done in one operation. It will plant the seed anywhere from three to nine inches deep and from ten to twenty-six inches apart. It is all a matter of regulating the machine, which will plant from five to eight acres a day.

For digging the potatoes the farmer hires his team to a complicated-looking machine, which is simple enough after all. This is a potato digger, and it roots the potatoes out without bruising one of them. More than that, it throws the vines and all other trash off to one side and deposits the potatoes in a perfectly straight row on clean ground.

When this is done the potatoes are gathered up and sorted according to size. For this operation another machine—a potato sorter—is brought into use. The potatoes are dumped on the sorter and come out of it separated into three sizes—large, medium and small. One man stands by the machine and picks out the decayed tubers as they roll over the sorter.

When the farmer goes in for any line that calls for the transplanting of plants on a large scale, he has the most wonderful machine of them all to do the work for him. This machine is drawn by horses and is operated by a man and two boys. It handles tomato, cabbage, strawberry, tobacco and similar plants when they are but little more than seedlings.

The plant-setting machine, for all it looks big and cumbersome, and seems to be a complicated affair, receives the plants in a hopper. When the team moves off a starting lever is thrown over, and the machine makes a hole in the ground. In this it drops the plant, scatters fertilizer near the roots, waters the roots and draws the earth close up around the plant more evenly than it is done by hand.

It sets the plants deep or shallow, deposits a large or small quantity of fertilizer and water, and does anything the operator wants it to do.

It sets the plants into a single row without injuring any of them, and each just as far apart as the gauge calls for. It will plant from five to eight acres a day, and put the plants in the ground as close as one foot apart. The work done by this machine may be judged from the fact that to plant at one foot apart each way calls for the setting of 42,000 plants in a single acre. If only five acres were covered in a day it would mean the transplanting of 217,000 plants.

The broad, level fields of the grain country of California favor the use of ponderous and complicated machinery, drawn by traction engines, by which the labor cost of raising wheat is cut to a minimum. Probably two-thirds of the wheat crop of that State is harvested with the combined harvester-thresher, which sweeps through miles upon miles of ripened grain, cutting swaths from 24 to 42 feet in width, harvesting, cleaning, thrashing, and leaving behind a long trail of sacked grain, ready to be hauled to the warehouse, railroad or mill. This machine harvests and sacks from 60 to 125 acres of wheat a day, and requires eight men to operate it.

A machine recently introduced into the South will cut in two the cost of picking cotton, and throw thousands of people out of work. It is a splendid piece of mechanism of steel and brass. Drawn by two horses, it straddles and picks one row of cotton at a time, with about the speed made by the average farm hand with a cultivator. It is mounted on a framework of vertical endless belts, so arranged as to cause the plant to pass between them as the machine moves forward. Upon these belts are fastened arms which carry revolving metallic spindles or pickers. The arms are thrust into the plant by the movement of the vertical belts, and the pickers take hold of the open cotton. After the arms pass into the receiving compartment of the framework, the cotton, by an automatic reverse motion of the spindles, is released and conveyed into a convenient receptacle. It picks the bolls entirely clean of every lock of cotton with which the pickers come in contact. No lint or seed cotton clings to any part of the machine, nor does any part of it adhere to the bolls from which it is twisted. The cotton gathered by the machine is freer of trash than that most carefully gathered by hand. It is estimated that it costs in round numbers \$100,000,000 to gather the annual

cotton crop of the United States. The machine can, it is claimed, reduce this cost by half, a saving of \$50,000,000.

These are a few of the machines which in the past few years have helped to revolutionize the farming industry. Since 1862 there has been an increase of 75 per cent. in the productive power of the farm laborer, while wages have decreased from 30 to 40 per cent. according to government statistics. The farmer who is smoked out also finds that the opportunity of employment on the farm is lessened, for the new machinery is not only labor-saving, but labor-replacing, and the number of farm laborers is rapidly being reduced in America.

Co-Operation.
The pressure which capitalism is exerting has forced the farmers to co-operate on the economic field. In the East the co-operative principle has manifested itself in the organization of dairies and creameries, or in combining the purchasing power in co-operative stores and the like. But in Kansas the farmers are uniting to erect their own elevators for the handling, storage and sale of their crops; to save themselves from the elevator trusts which have heretofore dictated the price of produce. They have created large central bureaus which gather statistics, relating to the crops, the prevailing selling price, and the amount in storage, and also make terms with railroads, banks, etc.

In line with this Kansas plan is the National Society of Equity, organized in Indianapolis in December, 1902, to promote and encourage co-operation among farmers, stockmen, gardeners and horticulturists. Its object is to secure profitable prices, to build warehouses and cold-storage plants so that produce may be held for more advantageous prices, to secure favorable legislation, more equitable rates of transportation, open up new markets, secure new seeds, report crop conditions, encourage the building of good roads, and secure the establishment of institutions for teaching scientific farming.

The success which will probably attend these experiments of co-operatively controlling output, will point to the wisdom of consolidating farming. It was through similar organizations in industry that the giant trusts evolved, and as in them the big capitalists gradually secured the control and froze out the smaller ones, so, in the thorough capitalization of farming, we may look to the gradual elimination of the little fellow. The line of cleavage between the farm-owning and farm-laboring classes will also become more marked. The workers will no longer deal with isolated farmers or their agents, but with well-organized associations which will protect the interests of the farmer in the labor as well as in the wheat and produce markets.

The Farmer in Politics.

The average farmer is a hard worker and a slow thinker, but the conditions born of the changed methods of production have quickened his ideas. He feels somehow that things are not arranged just right. He begins to recognize that he cannot compete with the bonanza farmers, that he is being forced down into the ranks of the propertyless. He is seeking some remedy or reform that will prevent the extinction of his class. His interest and that of his class is to retain possession of the land on which they labor. Of course, each hopes to save himself, and to lift himself, if possible, into the ranks of the capitalists. His only quarrel with the capitalist is that he does not enjoy the capitalist's security, but as long as he possesses some property he considers himself superior to the wage-worker and cannot feel very deeply for him or his interests. He sides with the capitalist, at times, against the worker, because he employs workers, and it is his interest to get his labor at as low a figure as possible. He combines against the labor element because he believes they have no interest in the maintenance of the rights of property which he holds dear, and affiliates with the very class whose system of exploitation is gradually destroying the possession of property as far as his class is concerned. Nevertheless, it is to the wage-workers that he usually turns to obtain that security against extinction which the present system does not afford him. He endeavors to enlist them in saving him and his class from what he styles the "common enemy"—the plutocrat.

Protection.

The truth is being forced upon the understanding of the small farmer that protection will not save him. He begins to realize that the agricultural products of this country are greatly in excess of the home demands and that the surplus must find a foreign market. As he reads of the wheat of Argentina, Russia and India, the wool of Australia and the cotton of Egypt, he perceives the extent of the world-wide competition he must meet, and begins to wonder where the benefit of "protection to home markets," "the Chinese must go," and "America for Americans" is coming in for him. If the markets are overstocked he cannot afford to wait for the surplus to be consumed or a "clearance sale" to take place, but as a matter of self-preservation he must continue to produce to his full capacity, and his only hope of higher prices lies in disaster to his competitors. The disaster, however, more often befalls himself in one of many

NO LONGER "THE BACKBONE OF SOCIETY."

ways or forms—now lower prices, then a flood or a drought. If protection benefits any one, it will benefit most the capitalist farmer who does not put his hand to the plow, but who sits back and pockets profits from the labor of others. The workers long ago realized that protection did not protect or benefit them, and the farmer class to-day begin to see that it will not prevent their extinction.

Government Ownership.

Could he be brought into direct relation with the consumers of his products and receive the prices they pay him the farmer thinks he would fare better. But between the consumer and himself are the transportation companies, charging all the traffic will bear; the produce exchange, the grain, wool, cotton, beef, pork and other speculators, and last, but not least, the retailers, all grabbing for profits. To get rid of these the farmer naturally turns to government ownership and government help. He wants the government to nationalize the railroads, not for the purpose of abolishing the system of wage slavery and the exploitation of the railroad employees; not to reduce hours, raise pay or provide safeguards to the life and limb of the railroad men, but "to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation;" in other words, that the small farmer may get reduced rates for the transportation of his produce and thus pocket the money earned by the workers now flowing into the coffers of the railroad magnates. Better pay, shorter hours and safety appliances would increase the operating expenses and would defeat the purpose which he has in view. The income account of the railroads of the country for the year ending June 30, 1902, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, showed net earnings of \$805,616,785, a net earning per mile of \$3,100, and an increase of \$246 per mile over the previous year. This is the sum that the farmers want the government to divert into their pockets. What matters it to them that the workers are overworked and underpaid; that railroad accidents for the year ending June 30, 1901, killed 8,455 persons and injured 53,339, of which the greater number were employees, some out of every 136 of whom was killed and one out of every 13 of whom were injured.

A Farmer Government.
Incidentally the farmer demands the establishment of sub-treasuries, connected with national warehouses, in which the farmers might store their produce until they could sell it to an advantage, receiving in the meantime advances from the sub-treasuries at a very low rate of interest. Some few of them even go so far as to propose that the national government substitute itself for the money-lenders who hold mortgages upon their farms, and for this purpose issue legal-tender notes to the required amount. The essential purpose of all these proposed measures is to benefit the small farmer class exclusively and use the government powers with as much disregard of the interests of the workers as the plutocracy has shown. They contemplated individual ownership of property and the consequent wage slavery. They simply aim at substituting the farmer for the plutocrat as the beneficiary of the fleecings of labor. Great reductions in the cost of production were to be secured, but the farmers did not by any means propose to correspondingly lower the price of their produce.

As far as the railroad workers are concerned, the experience on the State railways of Germany and Belgium shows that their treatment is no better than in the service of private corporations. In one respect at least it is more degrading, because of the abject servility to political bosses that is exacted as a condition of employment. Moreover, there is a tendency to a reduction of wages in the lower grades of public occupation, corresponding to the fall of prices paid for similar work in private establishments, all in the name of "reform," "retrenchment" and "business principles."

Free Silver.

A farmer who would keep "on top" must have up-to-date machinery, and to utilize and make that machinery profitable must increase his acreage. For these necessary and desirable improvements, and these additional lands, many were forced to go in debt, and were being eaten up and wiped out by mortgages on their lands. Taking in view only the immediate consequences, the debt-ridden farmer saw in a cheaper money a chance to pay off these debts more rapidly and thus enable him to hold his land, and he became a free silverer. But even when clear of debt, free silver would not enable him to compete with the bonanza farmers in the market. He was forced to go in debt and is being crushed because he is not up to the capitalist mode of production, which implies larger farms, large enterprises and large capital.

The farmer is practically a manufacturer, just as much as a corporation that makes shoes, hats or the like. His farm is a machine, which, being fed with proper materials in the way of manure and seeds and properly operated, will make crops of various kinds. As in the manufacture of shoes the small cobbler has but little chance, with his limited stock of tools, against the highly improved, labor-saving machinery, where-

profit for less than the cobbler can make them, so also the capitalist farmer, with his large farm in a high state of cultivation, his improved manures, improved seeds, labor-saving machinery, gang plows, grain drillers, self-binders, steam-thresher and grand scale of production, can manufacture crops of all kinds and sell them at a profit to himself, at prices which mean ruin to the small farmer, with his small patch of poor land and with little capital and machinery to operate it. Hence, though free silver may enable the small farmer to pay off his debts more readily, it would not remove the competition, growing fiercer from year to year, which is so destructive to him and his class.

According to a report made by Senator Peffer to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the wheat crop of the Dakotas in 1890, which was ten per cent. of the total crop, was produced at an expense of 35 cents per bushel. In California, which contributed another ten per cent., the average cost was 22 cents; while in Kansas the cost was 50 cents and in Illinois and Ohio it ran up to 70 cents. The difference in the cost, it was admitted, was due to the fact that in Dakota and California the farming was carried on on larger farms, while in the latter States small farming prevails. Even in Canada, to which so many of our smoked-out farmers are turning, capitalism has taken hold of agriculture, and a Canadian company with \$1,000,000 capital is operating 10,000 acres in Assiniboia, and has an option on 10,000 more. The latest mechanical improvements have been secured, and the company estimates an average yield of thirty-five bushels per acre, at an average cost of \$5 per acre.

As long as the principle of private ownership prevails in production, no more can be made that will prevent the big capitalists from pocketing the lion's share, or will prevent their small competitors from sinking into the ranks of the propertyless.

The wage working class, on the other hand, having no property, and being, therefore, without credit to any extent, is not a debtor class. If prices advance by the free coinage of silver, wages may also rise, as labor is a merchandise. Experience shows, however, that the price of labor, wages, does not rise as fast as the price of other commodities; and the cost of living may increase without the workers being able to advance their wages to meet the increase. The fact is shown to-day. For though prices of necessities showed an increase of 62 per cent. between January 1, 1900, and January 1, 1902, according to Dun's Index of Prices, no corresponding increase of wages has been shown, and in many cases the workers are receiving less than they did in 1900.

Taxation.

The farmer also sees in a low tax rate the means of keeping his little holding. The politicians want high taxes because they will have higher salaries and perquisites, and more offices to distribute among the "faithful." Economical government means that what would otherwise go to the politicians will be kept by the farmer. The wage worker, however, is not interested in the question of taxes. His share of the wealth that he produces depends upon the law of wages, which depends upon the cost of production, just as with other merchandise. Lower the cost of the necessities of life and it follows that the price of labor will sink proportionately. The lower the taxes, the lower is the cost of the necessities of life; consequently, low taxes will send still lower down the percentage of the share that the laborer will keep of the fruit of his toil. If the laborer needs but one loaf of bread to live on, and that loaf costs five cents, his wages will be five cents. If he produces \$1 worth of wealth, and he receives five cents for the loaf the employer keeps 95 cents profit. If, because of a tax of 20 cents on it, the price of the loaf is raised to 25 cents, the cost of the laborer will become 25 cents, and his wages must rise to that figure, or he will die. He will then produce \$1 worth of wealth and receive 25 cents as wages. He is no better off, because that 25 cents can only buy one loaf, just as the five cents did before. But the employer only keeps 75 cents profit, whereas he had 95 cents before. It is the employer of labor alone who pays the taxes and is interested in their reduction.

Neither does rent depend, any more than wages, on the rate of taxation, notwithstanding the erroneous opinion to the contrary, so carefully nurtured among the masses by the capitalists. Rents are governed by supply and demand, and whether taxes are high or low, it matters not to the worker who must pay the rent. A lowering of taxes would enable the landlord to pocket more of the money paid by the tenant, and an increase of taxes would compel him to turn over a larger portion for the carrying on of the government; but he neither gives the tenant the benefit of a lower tax rate in the form of a lower rent, nor can he raise the rent to meet an increased tax. The land owner alone is interested in low taxes; "economical government" means benefit for him alone.

The Worker in Politics.

The Socialists are not visionaries, anxious to try a new scheme of government on the people, no more than the officials of the Weather Bureau are anxious to try new kinds of weather. They seek possession of the government in order to administer its affairs in the interest of the class they represent, the wage-working class; just as the farmer goes

into politics for the benefit of his class; just as the capitalist is to-day running the government in the interests of the capitalist class. While it is the first and paramount interest of the capitalist, big or little, to remain in possession of the tools and means of production whereby he may perpetuate his power to exploit the laborer, it is the interest of the workers to wrest from the capitalist the means whereby he is oppressed and to secure access to the implements of production and the resources of nature. Private ownership compels the worker to sell his skill and muscle to the owner of the means of production and the resources of nature, and reduces labor to a merchandise, bought and sold in the market, and subjects it to the law of the market, which forces downward the price of every merchandise the supply of which exceeds the demand, as is always the case with labor.

Wages must always be far below the value of the wealth that the worker produces. Under the capitalist system of production they will never rise high enough to put an end to the exploitation of labor. It is only the prospect of a surplus in the form of profits that impels the capitalist to hire the worker. That surplus, including as it does, not only the profit of the employer, but rent, interest on loans, salaries, merchants' profits, taxes, etc., is larger than usually imagined, and is growing larger with each decade. All costs of production must be taken from the value of the worker's product or else the capitalist will not employ him. The figures of the prosperous census year of 1900 show that the average annual wage of the workers was \$437 as against \$444 in 1890, an actual decrease of 2 per cent. In 1900 the product of each worker was valued at \$2450; in 1890, it was \$2200, or a difference of nearly 10 per cent. In other words, the wage-worker got 2 per cent. less in 1900 for producing 10 per cent. more than he did in 1890. His share of the wealth he produced amounted to only 1 cent of every dollar's worth; the capitalist's share was 82 cents.

The capitalist wage system means, under all circumstances, the thorough exploitation of the working class, and it is impossible to abolish this exploitation without abolishing the system itself. Freedom for the worker must come through free access to the means of production; his independence is secured only by the abolition of wage-slavery. For the purpose of abolishing private ownership of the means of production and instituting collective ownership, the possession of the political powers are necessary. The wage-workers must act together politically in order that majority in numbers may secure those powers. To obtain this combined action of the wage-workers, it is further necessary that they should see clearly their true economic interests, and understand the steps necessary to obtain their aims. They must be taught to keep away from side issues, which, while all right for other classes, are of no benefit to them, and merely tend to confuse and mislead them.

The attitude of hostility taken at times by the small farmer against the larger capitalist, the more conspicuous oppressor of labor, render middle class movements particularly seductive to the untimely workers. They are apt to overlook the fact that the small capitalist is also a petty employer and exploiter; they are apt to remember only the exactions of the larger capitalists and join in a movement to overthrow what seems to be a "common enemy." But, however friendly the farmer class movements may seem, it were a strategic error for the proletariat or wage-working class to join them. Such movements are bound to melt away; and the reason for their being so fated to disappear is that the small farmer class, and with them their interests, are fated to go. As a class they are hopelessly being undermined by the bigger capitalists; the small man can not compete with the giant concern.

A movement can not succeed that draws its force from sinking sap; it can only succeed when the sap is a rising one. While the ranks of the farmers are being steadily depleted, the ranks of the proletariat are steadily swelling. Hence farmer movements stand on yielding ground; and the proletariat stands on firm and ever firmer ground, and alone can succeed. The right strategy is not to seek strength from weakness.

Even granted that the small farmers still constitute quite a fraction of the population, the fact remains that their numbers, their political power, is constantly diminishing. The Socialist Labor Party does not, for that reason, reject the small farmer or any other middle class man; he does not even reject the capitalist; what he does reject are the "reforms" which the economic class interests of all such people push forward, and all of which are either valueless to the wage-workers or positively injurious. No alliance has ever been suggested by the middle or upper classes that was not repulsive to the class interests of the working class. Their political support was never sought but at the expense of their class interests to the benefit of the class interests of those who exploited them. Hence the posture of the Socialist Labor Party is not one of repudiating the farmers, or any such, but of repudiating their class measures. Whenever they, or any of the members of the labor-employing, labor-fleeing classes have been found enlightened enough to tear themselves loose from their own class interests and plant themselves upon the class-abolishing ground

(Continued on page 4.)

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STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	53,617

THE DELAWARE STRAW.

Delaware dispatches bring the information that the deadlock for U. S. Senator in that State is broken, at last. This is true: the fact that the Legislature elected both a long term and a short term incumbent sufficiently proves the claim. When, however, the dispatches proceed to announce that "Delaware is now again represented in the Federal Senate," they claim more than they have verse and chapter for. It is not "Delaware" that secured "representatives"; it is certain industries that secured representatives. The fact in this instance is all the more strongly emphasized by the business of the long term successful candidate.

James Frank Allee is President of a brick company situated not within the borders of his, but within the borders of this State—the Staten Island Brick Company. In the Senate, it will not be the State of Delaware that Mr. Allee will represent, but the wastepiece of the Staten Island Brick Company.

It was behind the shadow of "State lines" that the Southern secessionists raised the political theory of their move. It was at that shadow that the North snote the move. When the Civil War was over, "State lines" vanished. They remained as geographic demarcations. As always happens in such cases of unconscious development, "State lines" have preserved a political varnish or flavor; but the industrial development, that brought on the abolition of slavery, already had reduced the "State lines" to but a shadow of their pristine significance. What was left of them since then is but a shadow of a shadow. The accelerated tempo, under which the industrial development proceeded after the war, has played havoc with the "State lines." To-day they are but myths.

No longer are States represented in the Federal Senate. That clumsy feudal tenure has ceased to exist de facto. The Senate of the United States is the Council Chamber in which are gathered the Princes of Railroad empires; the Dukes of Coal and Mineral duchies; the Marquises of Oil-shires; the Squires of Brick wastepieces; the Peers of Telegraph fiefs; the Lairds of Steel-principalities; the Barons of Cattle-realms; the Baronets of Clothing-ridings; the Margraves of Stock-and-Bond circuits; etc., etc. It is the boundary lines of these fiefs that now actually divide the Nation; and they it is, not States, that are to-day the actual bases of representation.

As far as this new "basis of representation" is concerned, it marks progress. Not area, but industries, is the national foundation of civilized "government." So far, however, the political, or governmental, development has been unconscious. Being unconscious, there still remains floating the myth of "State lines," and there remains the practical misrepresentation of "owners" or usurpers, instead of workers.

The conscious development is still to come; it will manifest itself when the emancipated working class, putting a final quietus to the myth, and, along with the myth, to the usurping capitalist misrepresentation, will rear the Socialist Republic. "Government" will, then as now, be based on industries, but avowedly so. And the "reins of government" will then be held by the delegates of the Trades Unions, assembled in the Council Chamber of the Nation.

VOCAL POCKETS.

Albany dispatches have it that, at the hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Child Labor bills, Elbridge T. Gerry, ex-President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, opposed the bills in a violent speech, in the course of which he said:

"What of it if children, under ten years of age, have to wait at 4 o'clock in the morning for the early newspapers! Fine men have been newsboys. This bill will first dose the boy with education, and then brand him with a license. He is not allowed to earn his living, but compelled to be shut up in a hot tenement house to the injury of his health.

The reporter of this speech must have been half asleep. He got things twisted. His ear was sharp; no doubt of that; but he fixed wrongly the direction from which the sounds came. The words recorded above did not come from the lungs, and through the larynx and other vocal organs of the Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry. They came from his pockets; from his several pockets. It is there they originated and they oozed out by the orifices of those pockets. In point of fact it was not one speech, or a speech at all, it was a series of exclamations, disconnected and flung out, or sputtered out. The exclamations were as follows:

From the pockets holding newspaper stocks:—"What! Limit the boy-peddlers of our papers! That would knock a hole into our dividends! Un-American! The finest men have been newsboys. These bills are shocking!"

From the pockets holding factory stocks:—"What! Where will this stop? Keep boys from selling papers, and they will be next kept from working in our factories! Un-Christian! Shall these boys be shut up in a hot tenement house to the injury of their health? Shocking thought!"

From the pockets holding stocks in messenger boys concerns:—"What! Keep the boys from earning a living! I shall they be dosed with education during the time that we need them to furnish us with dividends! Unheard-of Anarchistic scheme!"

And so it went on. The several stocks in the pockets of the Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry were actually convulsed with rage and righteous indignation, an indignation that found utterance in exclamations, a few of which are reproduced above, and which the reporter mistook for a continuous speech. He did fairly well, all the same, considering the hubbub of cross exclamations that were leaping out of the Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry's pockets.

CORNERING BIRDS.

A committee of spokesmen—consisting of one Mr. Blumberg, one Henry W. Moskowitz, one Charles Sprague Smith, one Joseph Barondess, one S. Packard as proxy for "ray-of-light shaft" Rainsford, one Joseph Levinson, one Edward King, and one A. L. Guttman—marched last Thursday, eight abreast, before the Mayor. They represented "the East Side," the "voice of labor," 30,000, or perhaps it was 300,000 people. They came to appeal, and protest, and ask for protection. What upon? They all spoke, of course. But one of them, Moskowitz, seemed to vocalize the set best. As his speech was the one that received applause, "long and prolonged," it will suffice to examine that one in search of an answer to the question, in whose interest did these birds flutter. Mr. Moskowitz said:

"Mr. Mayor, the law should be perfected;"

That does not sound bad. A carping critic might find fault saying that only that which is fairly good needs "perfecting"; and that the laws of capitalism, being fairly bad, don't need "perfecting" so much as "lopping off." But let that pass, and let Mr. Moskowitz proceed:

"We ask you, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of tenement dwellers to help us against this onslaught on our homes;"

So they have "homes," these tenement dwellers! Humph! Queer! Or can it really be? Can people, with average earnings of \$300 a year, and less, have anything like "homes"? But, don't interrupt Mr. Moskowitz:

"To-day there is an increase in juvenile crime on the East Side;"

Well! he seems to be coming out all right, after all:

"There is no home-life there, no good influences upon the children;"

Bully for Moskowitz! His first allusion to the existence of "homes," which were

to be protected, was but a slip. He admits the fact, and the correlated facts. There are no homes for these working people; there is, of course, no home-life and no good influences upon the children. Neither can there be with the small earnings of the bread-winners:

"The mother works all day, the child comes home from school, throws down his books, and goes out to evil influences;"

Moskowitz is all right! And those he is vocalizing, and who at the close of his speech applaud him "long and prolonged," must be all right, too. They are making their innings. They are laying bare what the present laws are. Where the mother must be out at work all day, the father cannot but be robbed of most of his earnings. Such laws leave no room for homes. The Moskowitz Committee is "getting there"; it will demand the right thing before it is through. Go on, Moskowitz:

"We ask—"

The collective Heart of the Human Race stops beating in suspense. The collective Eye of the Human Race turns to the addressed Mayor—the local embodiment and officially stamped incarnation of the social system and laws that plunder the workingman of the fruit of his labor, and that, like a Vandal band, invades and destroys his home, sacks it of wife and children, and sells them as booty into wage-slavery. Will that Mayor quail? Will he seek to escape by the nearest window, and run from the Wrath to Come?

"that you protect us from the greed—"

The suspense grows intolerable. What bold, what daring, what indignation-bred proposition is gathering shape on the lips of Moskowitz? Is he about to demand of the Mayor that he atone for his Class Crimes by himself turning executioner of his own Class, and thereby abolish himself, so that the tenement dwellers may at least enter into the enjoyment of a "home"? And is Moskowitz but adding irony to the demand, to the order, by putting it in the shape of a "request"? Hush! Moskowitz's lips move:

"of the builders!"

And the Mayor smiles blandly; and the collective Heart of the Human Race sinks down into its collective Boats.

Of course! The whole thing was but a farce; and the farce was gotten up by the Mayor himself. From what source other than that could the fiendish fraud proceed of voicing the sorrows and the discontent of the workers—sorrows and discontent produced by CAPITALISM—and then running both into the quagmire of the BUILDERS?! Through what instrumentality other than the Mayor's could such a collection of birds as the Moskowitz Committee be gathered to twitter by implication the absurd twister that the bread-winner will cease to be plundered in the shop, that the mother will cease to have to be out at work all day, that the children will be furnished with the food and proper companions at home,—that all this will happen if but "the greed of the builder" is restrained?

The Mayor has shifted his trade. From being a cornerer of coffee he has become a cornerer of "birds."

THE GOSPEL OF SUCCESS.

This is an age of deep social unrest. Increasing numbers of the working class are chafing under the yoke of economic dependence. The list of suicides due to economic failure grows at an alarming pace. The concentration of capital continues unchecked, making escape from these intolerable conditions less and less possible. On all hands there is evident the necessity for a general improvement—a social uplifting.

This social unrest has met with the opposition of the capitalist class. Instinctively they feel that it imperils their position as the master class. They have, consequently, found it advisable to allay this unrest and turn it to their own class advantage. Accordingly, they endeavor to prevent this social unrest from seeking social relief. To this end they direct attention to individual effort and preach the gospel of success.

This gospel has many "cardinal principles." The first and foremost, the one that is dwelt upon with the greatest emphasis, is summed up in these words: "Work means success. Without work there can be no success." From this one is to conclude that in order to succeed one must work and work hard.

It is far from the Socialist's contention that it is possible to achieve any end without effort. He does, however, point

out that if work means success, the great majority of the working class ought to be successful, for none individually and collectively work as hard as they. None, however, are so unsuccessful as they, taking wealth and its accompaniments as the criterion of success.

It will not do to urge that the majority of the working class lack purpose or persistency, for such workingmen are not employed by the capitalist class. Nor will it suffice to say that they are not inventors nor directors; for the claim that all the purpose, persistency, inventiveness and executive ability in the world, is lodged under the hats of the comparatively few successful capitalists, is a libel on the human race and a distortion of facts—it is a lie. Observe the frantic helplessness of the capitalists in a great strike. Where is the all-potent "purpose, persistency, inventiveness and executive ability" of the capitalist class then? In the sheriff's, governor's, or judge's office, appealing to the "law" to drive the workmen, without whom they are helpless, back to work!

The capitalist is not successful because he is a hard worker. He is successful because he is a capitalist. As Karl Marx has well said:

"It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property."

The gospel of success is like the theory of political equality in this country, in its workings. Two per cent. of the population of 76,000,000, at most, can hope, under capitalism, to be successful; just as one man out of twelve million voters can hope to be president, providing the incumbent isn't elected to a second term.

With the capitalist class in control of the capital of the nation, the practical application of this will-o'-the-wisp of success simply means hard work in the interest of the capitalist class. In this day, when restriction of output is being opposed, when the struggle for world's markets is on, work, ever more work, is what the capitalists need. And how can it be better obtained than turning the great social unrest from social action to individual "relief"? And how can the capitalist class better save its ownership and control of the capital of the nation, than by this prevarication?

Hard work will mean success only under Socialism. Then the individual and collective effort now expropriated by the capitalist class will redound to society.

The extent of the "prosperity" now enjoyed by the working class may be judged from the report on the condition of trade published in the current issue of the Cigarmakers' Journal. Fifty-eight cities report trade "good," ninety-nine "fair," and seventy-nine "dull." Those under the head of "good" do not include such large centers of cigar manufacture as New York; while those under the head of "dull" include such important centers as Key West.

The current number of the Cigarmakers' Journal contains an interesting directory of the cigar trust's factories. This directory shows that the trust owns thirty cigar and cheroot factories in twenty-one cities and that negotiations for four others are reported under way. This does not include the Hillson Company factories, reported by the daily papers as sold to the trust a few days ago. Nine thousand eight hundred and forty-one persons, mostly girls, are employed. The largest factory, in point of numbers, of this character, is at Kingston, N. Y. One thousand four hundred boys and girls work there on suction tables and bunch machines. These devices are used in most of the factories. Two of the factories, viz., the Irby branch at New Orleans, and the factory at Louisville, Ky., serve as schools for apprentices. At Tampa, Fla., there are three factories that produce clear, Havana, and employ about 1000 cigarmakers. When it is recollected that a similar condition of affairs exists in the cigarette, plug, smoking, chewing, curing, growing, exporting, importing, jobbing and retailing branches of the tobacco industry of this and other countries, a faint idea may be formed of the size of the gigantic trust that the unions and the retailers have to fight by means of the boycott and insufficient capital.

The Kansas City Industrial Council has thrown Debs down because his note paper was printed by a "scab" concern. "Cucumbers" are not the only things that affect the even tenor of "Gene's" way.

Acting in conformity with the Elkins anti-railrate law, the railroads have decided to no longer issue free passes. This will add millions to the receipts of the railroad consolidations. Those "trust busting" laws are fearfully and wonderfully made.

THE GERMAN ORGAN OF THE
S. L. P.

To-day the "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung," the German organ of the Socialist Labor Party, celebrates its fourth anniversary. What this means, what the paper means to the Party, may not at first blush be fully apparent to the membership, and to the increasing number of the intelligent members of the Working Class that are being drawn toward the S. L. P. standard. In making these points clear we are happily aided by the fortuitous circumstance, which serves as the occasion for an article printed elsewhere in this issue and entitled: "Tho' Dodging, Caught," and to which the reader is referred.

Most of the papers published here in a foreign tongue have done more harm than good to the nationality that they address. The turn the thing usually takes is to delay the amalgamation of such nationality with the American masses. A personal interest generally gathers force around the managers of such papers. To insure their jobs and living, they have an interest in perpetuating the foreign notions and foreign tastes among their readers. Accordingly, their readers remain virtually aliens, ignorant of and uninterested in the country's affairs, and addicted to the affairs of the old country. Such a state of things naturally produces abnormalities. People living in a country can not choose but become tinged with local feelings and views that are not the feelings and views of the country they left. As a result, such people presently become purely artificial and waifs. They cease to live in the old country; they do not actually live in this country; they live in a country that does not exist. Obviously the managers of papers, read by such elements, become petty rulers of petty principalities within the nation. These petty principalities melt away, true enough; but so long as enough of each remains, the petty ruler—and they are usually of the sum of the old country—cuts his mischievous capers.

If this sort of thing is mischievous to the country at large and to the rank and file of the petty "principalities" in general, it becomes infinitely more so when the foreign paper is "dedicated" to the Labor Movement, especially the Socialist Movement. The vilest instincts, that made such petty rulers impossible in their own country, come here to the surface. Their innate corruption and ash-barrel features blossom inevitably into full luxuriance. Such papers being the private property of "select" rings, they are used to the worst purposes. The "principalities" dominated by them are kept in the dark; a Chinese wall is raised around them; their vainglory is puffed up; Socialism, of course, becomes an article of merchandise;—and the petty rulers have high carnival. All this, and much more, is illustrated in the instance of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" in the article above referred to.

The "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung" illustrates the contrast. Our fellow wage-slaves of Germany can not be left to the tender mercies of the capitalist or of such alleged Socialist papers. The only way to reach them is by means of a paper that, altho' of their own tongue, is free from all the defects that become the ulcers above described. Such a paper must familiarize its readers with American conditions and seek to wear out the corners of racial prejudice that retard the amalgamation of the foreigner with the native. As the inevitable means to such end, such a paper must not be the private property of "petty rulers" interested in keeping up such racial antagonisms and vanities; such a paper must be property—absolute and unqualified—of the Socialist Labor Party; "strictly under the control," not of any set of private individuals, but "strictly under the control" of the whole Party; accordingly, moving in strict obedience, not to the whim or caprice of "those German members" only whom a body, irresponsible to the Party, may pick out as "knowing what they are at," but moving in strict obedience to the pulsations of the whole membership, ascertained under the code that civilized man has prescribed unto himself.

Such a paper is the "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung." It is cause for rejoicing that it exists. It is cause for rejoicing that it has lived three years. It is cause for rejoicing that it now celebrates its fourth anniversary. In this celebration the Socialist Labor Party celebrates a principle, the reverse of which has been a clog and a source of danger to the Socialist Movement of the land, a principle that deserves the warmest enthusiasm of the Socialists, and should earn for the "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung" their warm support.

That principle is the public ownership by the Party of its press.

The beautiful workings of New Zealand's compulsory arbitration law has been illustrated anew. The cabinet makers of Auckland have been locked out in consequence of a decision of the arbitration court raising their wages 1s. 3d. per hour. The manufacturers will hereafter import furniture. The economic power of capitalism over the worker thus nullifies whatever advantages the law may confer on the workers. Yet New Zealand is called "the Workman's Paradise." If it is that, what must a workman's hell be like?

The pope's jubilee was a great event, a personal triumph for the intellectual head of a great ecclesiastical organization. Though that jubilee was a great event, it was undoubtedly marred by one bitter recollection, viz., that strive as it will the Church of Rome, whose renowned head Leo XIII. is, cannot stem the rising tide of Socialism. Despite clerical opposition deriving its inspiration from the pope's clever encephalics, Socialism grows in power from day to day, embracing ever larger numbers of those to whom the infallible head of the church appeals in vain. Industrial evolution drives the religious devotee into the vortex of a movement against which the promises and punishments of a future world are hurled without effect. In pleading with these devotees to reform instead of working for the overthrow of the system which causes these devotees to act as they do, the pope and all other theologians begin at the wrong end of the problem; hence their puny results. Socialism will continue on to victories—the final overthrow of capitalism—when it will celebrate a jubilee of its own, extending over more countries and including more souls of more denominations and non-denominations than Rome ever dreamed of embracing, in its wildest dreams of temporal power. The church will then, as usual, line up on the side of the victor and commend what she now condemns.

A recent English court decision classing newspaper publishers as manufacturers among the tribe on this side of the blue Atlantic. Just why this should be so is not obvious. Most of the news printed in this country is manufactured. The raw material is, generally, a few facts, combined with much conjecture and a lot of analytical rot, out of which a hair-raising plot and a circulation-increasing sensation is fashioned. Witness the Burdick murder, for example. The raw material may also be the necessity of defending special interests. This, worked in conjunction with a vivid reportorial imagination and an editorial omniscience, produces as fine a fabric of falsehoods as ever the hands of an experienced literary romancer turned out. As examples, the capitalist onslaughts on the working class—its "tyranny," "denial of the sacred right to work," etc.,—may be cited. As this process of converting this raw material into news is generally pursued by the capitalist newspaper publishers of this country, we fail to see why they should question the decision classifying them as manufacturers. That's what they are and the facts are with the learned judge; even if the capitalist newspapers are, as usual, not with the facts.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, discussing the various attempts to kill the safety appliance law says:

"It seems not difficult to find some judge who is willing to undertake the job of killing every law that is enacted for the protection of employees. So long as the present practice of permitting the employing class to dictate appointments to the federal judiciary nothing else can be expected. A President of the United States who appoints corporation lawyers to such positions lends his aid to such efforts to destroy protective legislation, and paves the way for defeating the will of the people."

This is all very well and good as theory; but how about the practices of the Frank B. Sargents, and other members of the Firemen's Brotherhood, who aid "this practice of permitting the employing class to dictate appointments," by supporting "A President of the United States who appoints corporation lawyers," in return for political offices received? How about the long line of labor fakirs, from Gompers down, who receive political favors from both parties for services similarly rendered? It looks as if "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine" were shouting "Stop thief!" in order to protect the real criminals!

A reading of "labor" journals would be amusing, at times, were not the subject matter so serious. In the Machinists' Monthly Journal there appears an article on the piece work system. The writer contends that piece work would prevent collective action with employers and deprive the American machinist of the independent position in which he finds himself to-day. That "independent position" which is dependent on collective action impresses one as being more amusing than consistent. Such "independence" is properly termed interdependence. To prate of "independence" when working class conditions create and demand interdependence, is in keeping with the purposes of the labor fakirs; for how can they insist on dividing the working class on election day, if there is no "independence" and no "independent" right to vote as one pleases? Labor's victory can only be achieved when the interdependence of the workers is recognized on both the economic and political fields.

According to Bishop Mann, the leading hotel of Bismark, the capital city of North Dakota, which is in his diocese, presents the features of a saloon, a gambling house and a brothel, during the sessions of the legislature, when many senators and representatives board and lodge there. Bismark doesn't appear to be much different to other cities. 'Tis true its raw-boned vice needs refining and toning down, with, perhaps, some separation into branches, but then it is essentially the same in all the other places where lawmakers convene.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I have a plan that will fetch success in no time.

Uncle Sam—Less than no time would be still better.

B. J.—The Socialists want the whole hog; they want the land and they want the tools of production.

U. S.—And right they are.

B. J.—I also am a Socialist; there is nothing they can want that I don't want. But they are going with their heads against the wall. I propose a more practical plan—

U. S. begins to smile.
B. J.—I propose to make a flank movement on the enemy. My plan is to take the land first; to concentrate our reform forces on that; one thing is easier to get than 100. This move is all the shrewder because when we got the land and the natural opportunities, everything else is bound to fall into our hands. I believe in strategy. What say you?

U. S.—I say that your "flank movement" amounts to putting your head into the dragon's mouth.

B. J.—Isn't it easier getting one than 100?

U. S.—Depends upon what. In the case of the land and the tools of production it isn't.

B. J. smiles an incredulous cocksure smile.

U. S.—I'll take you at your own words. You say if we have the land everything else is bound to fall into our hands.

B. J.—Yes, siree!
U. S.—It follows that if you attack the landlord's interests, you simultaneously attack all private proprietary interests. Catch on?

B. J. acquires a distant look.

U. S.—If by attacking the landlord interests you attack the capitalist interests—

B. J.—But listen!

U. S.—No dodging! I shan't let you wriggle both ways. You said: "When we got the land and the natural opportunities, everything else is bound to fall into our hands." If that means anything, it means that by attacking the landlord interests of modern society, the capitalist interests are attacked at the same time. If you deny the conclusion of your own statements you reason like a baby and are not worth reasoning with.

B. J.—I admit the conclusion.

U. S.—Now, then, the beauty you claim for your flank movement "is that one thing is easier to get than 100; it is easier to get the one thing, land, than the two or more things—land and capital—

B. J.—Ain't it?

U. S.—No, it ain't, by reason of your own admission, which I just pulled 'ut of you. You can't claim that by "going for" the land, you "go for" one thing only when you recognize that by "going for" the land you also stir up all the capitalist interests. By "going for" the land you "go for" every capitalist, because the landlord and the capitalist interests are, as a matter of fact, closely interwoven. (Giving B. J. a pull of the ear.) There goes your wonderful "flank movement!"

B. J. remains pensive.

U. S.—But that's not all. Even if you had the land, you would have nothing. The sea is entirely unappropriated; it is "natural opportunity." Why don't you compete with big capital in ocean navigation and fishing?

B. J.—Hem.

U. S.—Simply because you haven't got big capital, and with an oyster smack you cannot do what a Cunauder can. If big capital in the hand of others keeps you from plying a trade on the ocean, there is no reason why big capital won't keep you from earning an independent living on the land.

B. J. looks nailed.

U. S.—The upshot of your wonderful "flank movement" is that:

First, if your theory were correct you would have as big a fight on hand with a one plank land platform as you would with a full or "whole hog," as you call it, set of demands;

Second, when you got your land you would have nothing. You would have fought only for the very big capitalists to whom you would have to knuckle under.

Your strategy is the fool's "strategy" and you would die "as the fool dieth."

The appointment of John D. Rockefeller's nephew as foreman of the March Grand Jury is eminently appropriate. The grand jury is a capitalist body. Its head should therefore be a leading representative of capitalism. Such is Rockefeller's nephew.

OFFICIAL.

Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Read street. (The Party's literary agency.)
 Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that there are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

Canadian N. E. C.

London, Canada, March 6.—The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held at headquarters on this date; Comrade Pease chairman; and all members present. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Communications: Letters from Section Bradford regarding the progress of the membership, also the holding of propaganda meetings in the near future. From Comrade Farrel of Algoma, regarding the material in that district to make Socialists of. From V. E. Pattison of Park Head, Ont., regarding Socialism generally. All were left in the hands of secretary to answer. From F. Lighter of Cape Breton, requesting general information about the S. L. P. in Canada; also stating his willingness to work for the Party. It was decided to reply, sending the desired information, together with some literature. From Comrade Haggitt of St. Thomas, Ont., relative to the re-organizing of the section there. From Section London for supplies and giving the election of officers; also stating that H. B. Asplant had been expelled on charges preferred against him by Section Vancouver. From Hamilton, two communications of a contradictory nature were received, both purporting to be official. It was decided to write both asking if there is a duly organized section in Hamilton and who holds the properties, that the N. E. C. may know what is the opinion of the membership in the matters referred to.

Philip Courtenay,
 Recording Secretary.

NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE.

A special meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in The Daily People building, Nos. 2 to 5 New Read street, on March 2, 1903, at 6 p. m., Moren in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

The financial report for February, 1903, was received as follows:

Receipts.	
Balance on hand Jan. 31, 1903.	\$168.02
Dues stamps	39.48
Lahn and Wallace defense fund.	5.40
	\$232.90
Expenditures.	
Agitation	\$1.85
Printing	21.75
Dues stamps	70.00
Postage stamps and supplies	1.66
Balance Feb. 28, 1903.	137.64

Communications were received from New York, Watervliet, Troy and elsewhere on routine business and ordered read.

The committee on agitation in Long Island City reported that the work is being continued on the lines taken up some time ago.

Adjournment followed.

General Committee.

A regular meeting of the General Committee of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, was held Saturday, March 7, 1903, at 3:30 p. m., in The Daily People Building, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

Chairman, Max Rosenberg; vice-chairman, Donald Ferguson.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Two new delegates were seated. Ten new members were admitted. The resignation of M. Sexton was accepted.

A letter was received from M. Krinks and filed.

A letter received from the Thirty-fifth A. D. Manhattan, was referred to D. A. 42, S. T. & L. A., through the delegation of the section.

The organizer reported the result of the general vote on nominees for the State committee as follows:

Donald Ferguson, 213; A. C. Kihn, 212; Justin Ebert, 208; Henry Kuhn, 201; A. Moran, 201; John Santee, 194; G. A. Nelson, 189; Emil Mueller, 182; James Hanlon, 180; Lewis Kobel, 184; Edward Moonella, 145; A. Piquart, 137; W. L. Brower, 124; S. Smilansky, 120; S. Blavin, 111; and H. B. Friedman, 100.

The following members were elected to assist the entertainment committee on Sunday, March 22, 1903, Grand Central Palace: L. M. Winder, Jacob Hoffman, H. Stiles, E. C. Schmidt, Edmund Moonella, H. Heyman, Daniel Graney, John Donohue and B. Frank. The subdivisions were also called upon to elect committees of two for this purpose and send their names to L. A. Nelson, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

The thirtieth A. D. Manhattan, reported that each member had contributed one day's pay as a donation to The Daily People Fund and it was decided to recommend to the New York and Long Island County committees that their respective assembly districts follow the same course.

It was decided that all assembly districts must settle for all tickets of old Party entertainments by April 1, 1903. Contravention to report the names of all members who have not made such settlements to the general committee.

Upon the representation of the griev-

ance committee, Herman Gruber was expelled by a vote of twenty-nine for expulsion and none against, having been found guilty of scabbing it on the locked-out upholsterers of R. H. Macy & Co., who had declared a strike in that establishment and for contempt of a summons of the grievance committee.

It was decided that nine delegates present at a regular meeting of the general committee shall constitute a quorum for the opening of the session and the transaction of business after 8 p. m. Adjournment followed.

A. C. Kihn, Secretary.

Daily People Festival.

A regular meeting of the entertainment committee of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, was held last Tuesday evening at Daily People building for the purpose of attending to the necessary arrangements for The Daily People Festival, to be held on Sunday, March 22, 1903, at Grand Central Palace. F. Machauer acted as chairman.

The organizer reported having received from the Vaudeville Agency, the following list of some of the talent that will appear in the grand vaudeville programme: Grant and Grant, America's leading fashion plates; Bailey and Madison, the great grotesque artists; Madge Fox, the flip-flop lady; Deltorelli and Glissando, musical clowns; Two Little Pucks, the clever juvenile artists; Mosher, Houghton and Mosher, novelty and comedy cyclists; the American Vitagraph, comedy views.

This list is not complete. A few of the best numbers have yet to be heard from in connection with this committee has decided to engage a full orchestra to accompany the vaudeville talent.

The organizer also reported that posters announcing the affair were ready, and it was decided to call upon the subdivisions to procure some of these to put up in their localities.

It was decided to call upon the subdivisions to elect two of their members to do committee work on the day of the affair, and to send their names and addresses to L. A. Nelson, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

The committee desires to again make a special appeal to our readers to assist the Ladies' Auxiliary to make the grand bazaar and fair a success, by donating whatever presents they can afford. Send presents to L. A. Nelson, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

As will be seen by this report, the committee are doing their utmost toward making the coming affair a greater success than even the previous affairs have been, and it is now up to our party members and sympathizers to do their share of the work by inducing their friends and relatives to turn out in force on March 22 at Grand Central Palace. Tickets at 35 cents a person for such an elegant vaudeville programme and ball should certainly be sold without difficulty.

The Entertainment Committee.

BAZAAR AND FAIR.

The following presents have been received for the bazaar and fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 22, 1903, for the benefit of The Daily People:

From A. Klein and A. Weinstein, elegant rosewood frame armchair, upholstered in satin damask; from Mrs. F. Brauckman, five fine Japanese trays, two glove boxes, two teapots and four Japanese boxes; from Miss Katz, silk shirt waist, baby's dress, baby's jacket; Z. A. fine armchair, upholstered in satin damask.

L. A. Nelson, Organizer.

No. 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

Important for Buffalo.

The readers of The People, their families and friends, are invited to attend the public lectures held every Sunday, at 3 p. m. sharp, at the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Park, No. 827 Main street, near Genesee street, Buffalo. Interesting and instructive discussions follow each lecture. Admission is free to all.

The following are the names of the lecturers and their subjects:

March 15.—Comrade Leander A. Armstrong, on "The Paris Commune and Its Lessons." Every Socialist, man or woman, should attend this meeting, held in memory of the Paris Commune.

March 22.—Superintendent of Education Henry P. Emerson, on "The Present Tendencies in Education."

March 29.—Former Health Commissioner Dr. Ernst Wendt on "Alcoholism."

April 5.—Alderman J. N. Aham on "Our City Government."

SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular September 8, 1901: Previously acknowledged.....\$6,011.44
 E. Rosner, City.....1.00
 E. W. Pittsburg, Pa.....40
 J. P. Jennings, Edinboro, Mass.....2.00
 A. E. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal.....5.00
 Sec. Troy, New York.....4.50
 John Martin.....1.00
 Braggs, Watervliet, New York.....1.00
 Colo. State Com.....2.35
 C. H. Jackson, Clarkburg, W. Va.....50
 L. Haus, Cleveland, O.....1.00
 Sec. Milford, Conn.....5.00
 E. M. White, Pittsburg, Pa.....1.00
 Sec. Milwaukee, Wis.....5.00
 A. C. Wirtz, Barnston, Cal.....3.00
 Alex. Mulberg, San Pedro, Cal.....1.50
 J. Cucco.....25
 F. Ahlberg, Moline, Ill.....3.00

Total.....\$6,048.89

SECTION LOWELL'S OFFICERS.

The election of officers for the ensuing term resulted as follows: Organizer, Joseph Youngjohn; recording and corresponding secretary, Thomas M. Reddy; treasurer, John T. Youngjohn; financial secretary, Horace B. Lang; literature and People agent, John Farrell.

BOSTON FAIR PRESENTS.

Presents received for the fair held by the Massachusetts State Executive Committee and the Scandinavian Socialist Club, of Boston, January 29, 30, 31, were as follows:

Mrs. C. C. Christensen, crocheted tidy and white apron; C. C. Christensen, one copy Socialist almanac; George Kauffman, one can peas, one can blueberries, one can corned beef, one can veal loaf, one can ham loaf, one can veal loaf, one can Lowrey's cocoa, one can mustard; Alfred Hansen, one small engine, six games, three books, one pair of skates; E. Hartog, one set picture blocks; Mabel Young, fancy-work apron; Mrs. W. H. Young, sofa pillows; D. Enger, large picture, electric belt; P. H. Grady, Salem, Mass., home-made rug; Mrs. and Miss Bombach, doll pin cushion, hairpin ball and tray cloth; Anna Petersen, fancy coat hanger; Max Brenne, Taunton, Mass., three dressing sacks, two aprons; Annie Schluter, two linen towels, one picture, two baby dolls; Mrs. M. J. Quirk, Salem, sofa pillow; Agnes Keefe, Lynn, fancy pin tray; Mrs. A. Seale, three fancy candleholders; Thomas F. Brennan, Salem, one pair of ladies' boots, one pair of Boys' shoes; Condon, Salem, one pair of Boys' boots; Party Member, child's silver set; Augustus Pechem, Somerville, ship in a bottle; Eugene Fisher, New York, two glove boxes, two handkerchief boxes, fancy china teapot, fancy china dish, two books; Edward Olsen, book of writing paper; Mrs. Gust. Nelson, bureau cover; William Armstrong, lemonade set; Wilson Bros., vater pitcher; Wadleigh Co., one barrel of potatoes; Alfred Anderson, Cambridge, one barrel of flour; MacGettrick Co., one ham, nineteen pounds; Sofie Fugelstad, sofa pillow; Margaret Ekeberg, crocheted tidy; Andrew Fugelstad, shaving mug; Comrade, shaving brush; Nels Fugelstad, three brackets; Walborg Thoresen, one dust cap, two sachet bags; Mrs. Geo. Nelson, crocheted shawl; Mrs. Hilda Peterson, baby's bath robe; Mrs. Hilda Swanson, bureau scarf; Mrs. Goranson, two lamp mats; Philip Wallin, shaving glass; Gust. Kleindienst, fancy vest pattern and buttons; Anna Jacobson, waste basket; Mrs. Gustafson, one book; Mrs. G. Lindgren, one fern, one pair of bedroom slippers; Geo. Lindgren, clothes rack; Anna Johnson, three fancy pin cushions; Edward Hultberg, silver napkin ring; K. Wintibollon, one can of coffee, one can of peaches; F. A. Nelson, one can of coffee, package of tea; A. H. Lyzell, fancy vase; Mrs. Gnoberg, handkerchief case; Mrs. Berlin, glass dish; Otho Sullivan, Revere, pocket knife; Marius Thoresen, berry set; C. Christenson, Everett, one jardiniere; four vases, one glass dish; Mrs. E. Mayo, Everett, one doll's wheelbarrow, one doll's cradle, one doll's chair; Edwin S. Mayo, Everett, parlor lamp; Joel Miller, Everett, four fancy glass dishes, one blackboard; Section Everett, one-half dozen knives and forks, one razor, one pocket knife; Fred Naglu, Springfield, one box of cigars; Michael Tracy, Lynn, sofa pillow; Mrs. Lindberg, ten dozen rusks; Th. Hellberg, one ham; Section New Bedford, sofa pillow; Fred Bleiler, two cans of peaches, two cans of tomatoes, two cans of corn, two cans of peas; H. L. marble ball with onyx base; J. Brigstrom, ship in a bottle; D. McPhee, one fountain pen; J. F. Stevens, one fountain pen; Joseph Monahan, one fountain pen; Olaf Neilson, one fountain pen; Michael Tracy, Lynn, picture; Peterson, 50 cents; O. Carlsen, \$1.50; G. Nelson, \$1; J. Devine, North Abington, \$2; H. Carlsen, \$1.50; F. Arresen, 25 cents; F. Rundquist, \$3 N. Hakanson, 25 cents; Hans Anderson, \$2; Agnes Olson, \$1; H. C. Hear, \$2.50; A. Berry & Co., two cases of tonic; from Scandinavian Socialist Club, Boston, various articles valued at \$30; G. A. Lind, package of fancy buttons; J. W. Johnson, chess table; Mrs. K. W. Anderson, bedroom slippers; Olaf Anderson, balloon; K. W. Anderson, oil painting; William Anderson, frame; Mr. Wenz, fancy burnt wood glove box; Kristini Nelson, ladies' pocketbook; Mrs. Hammer, Gardner, fancy doyley; Miss Sundelin, eight neck puffs; Mrs. J. Oldham, Lynn, fancy pin cushion; Mrs. J. Saache, one lamp mat, one walnut picture throw, box of building blocks; Miss Hontentunli, one silver fruit dish; two paper orange picture throws; Hellberg Bros., Somerville, fountain pen; Kristine Anderson, Somerville, sofa pillow; Mrs. A. Mortenson, Somerville, two dozen silver teaspoons; Agnes Olson, one statue, one vase, white apron; Mrs. M. Hanson, Everett, bureau scarf and Italian Gibbs panel; W. H. Young, steel ruler; Mr. and Mrs. Heyman, New York, twenty-five mantles, holder and chimney; Mrs. Vikstrom, one doll; Hildur Eklund, embroidered bureau scarf; Mrs. Molberg, Chicago, Ill., three belts, one dozen holders; Mrs. J. W. Johnson, one doll; Mrs. Anna Eklund, fancy apron; E. M. Beck, three pin trays, two comb trays, two necktie boxes, three inkstands; Mrs. Lundberg, three china plates; J. Wallin, one razor, one pocket knife; E. W. Werner, one cuff box, one collar box.

The local branches of the W. S. & D. B. F. and sections of the S. L. P. are invited to be in attendance. Tickets are twenty-five cents per couple. Street cars pass the door.

Schenectady Commune Festival.

Section Schenectady, N. Y., and Branch 57, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, will jointly celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, in the Center Street Opera House, Schenectady, on Friday, March 20.

Comrade Wieland of Albany, will give an address in English on the objects of the celebration and a paper on the subject in German will also be read. There will be song selections rendered by the Liedertafel and Turn Verein, which will be followed by a ball. Good music will be provided by Schneiderwind's Orchestra and a most enjoyable night is looked for.

The local branches of the W. S. & D. B. F. and sections of the S. L. P. are invited to be in attendance. Tickets are twenty-five cents per couple. Street cars pass the door.

Kentucky Commune Celebration.

Section Louisville, S. L. P., will give a Commune celebration, Sunday, March 22, at 8 p. m., at Beck's Hall.

A fine programme will be rendered, consisting of short addresses in German and English, singing by the Socialist song section, and humorous poems in both languages.

Several good musical numbers have been added to satisfy all tastes, and, at the conclusion of the programme, as usual, dancing will be indulged in.

The proceeds of the entertainment will be applied to the party press, and, consequently, each member should do his utmost to make this affair the biggest success in the history of our local movement.

The Amusement Committee,
 Section Louisville, Ky.

CLEVELAND TO CELEBRATE COMMUNE.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P., will hold their annual Commune celebration on Sunday, March 15, at 3 p. m. sharp.

The programme will consist of short speeches in English and German; a short German play, and recitations in English; a colored quartette, slight of hand tricks, tableaux, etc.

Let every comrade and sympathizer attend this entertainment. Ball commences at 7 p. m., with a splendid orchestra. Tickets of admission only 25 cents; at the door, 50 cents.

James Matthews, Organizer.

DETROIT COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

A Commune celebration and ball has been arranged by Section Detroit, S. L. P., and Socialist Arbeiter Maennerchor, at Colombo Hall, No. 235 Gratiot avenue, Detroit, Mich., Saturday evening, March 14, 8 p. m. There will be good English and German speakers. Tickets, ten cents each.

Commune Commemoration.

Lawrence, Mass., March 6.—In commemoration of the Commune of Paris in 1871, the comrades of Section Lawrence, Mass., Socialist Labor Party, will assemble at their headquarters, "Weavers' Hall," No. 313 Common street, on Sunday afternoon, March 22, at 2:30 p. m. Comrade John R. Oldham, of Lynn, will deliver an address on the "Commune and Its Lessons."

The comrades of Section Haverhill and Lowell are invited to attend, and also the readers of The People in this city and vicinity.

John Howard, Organizer.

ST. PAUL'S COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

The thirty-second anniversary of the Paris Commune will be celebrated by Section St. Paul, Socialist Labor Party, at Federation Hall, No. 309 Wabasha street, Sunday, March 22, 1903. Entertainment starts at 3 p. m.

PROGRAMME.

1. Overture.....Orchestra
2. Speech, "Paris Commune," Mrs. Olive M. Johnson
3. Piano Solo.....Miss Edith Andersen
4. Song.....Socialist Singing Society
5. Piano Solo.....Miss Ida Gloscher
6. Song, "My Bamboo Queen," Miss Agnes Benson
7. Recitation.....Henry Carling
8. Comic Songs.....Whelan

SECOND PART.

1. Overture.....Orchestra
2. Song, "Because of Thee," Mrs. O. Granstrom
3. Selected Songs.....Vega Singing Society
4. Monologue.....Samuel Johnson
5. Recitation.....Wilson Children
6. Recitation.....Mrs. C. E. Bishop
7. Song, "La Marseillaise," Madame Chevrolet
8. Duet, Miss Agnes Benson, Miss Ida Gloscher
9. Violin Solo.....Samuel Barnes
10. Song.....Henry Carling

Intermission for supper, which can be obtained in the hall adjoining. Dancing in order after supper. Admission, twenty-five cents.

Hartford, Attention!

The annual Commune celebration of Section Hartford, S. L. P., will take place Saturday, March 14, at 8 p. m., in Germania Hall.

Tickets, 25 cents, can be procured from all comrades.

Peekskill Campaign Fund.

The following moneys collected for the Peekskill, N. Y., campaign of March 3, 1903: Charles Zolot, \$1; Oscar B. Lent, 75c; John H. Lent, 50c; David C. Barger, \$1; John C. Foley, 50c; W. J. Richards, 50c; Emil Mote, 50c; John Odenwald, 25c; W. Odenwald, 50c; Antonio Dalia, 25c; Thomas Collin, 25c; David Poesy, 35c; and Jacob Vogt, 50c. Total, \$6.85.

For the Socialists' Arbeiter Zeitung, the sum of \$1.35 was collected.

Chas. Zolot.

S. T. & L. A. NEWS

S. T. & L. A. of the United States and Canada, headquarters, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Read street.

General Executive Board meeting the second and fourth Thursday evening of every month at 7:30 o'clock, at above address.

All information as to organization and the aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A. will be gladly sent by mail on request.

Speakers will be furnished to address labor and trade organizations, as well as sections of the S. L. P. of new trades unions.

Address all communications to John J. Kinneally, general secretary, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Read street, New York.

DE LEON IN LYNN, MASS.

On Sunday, March 15, Comrade Daniel De Leon, editor of The Daily People will deliver a lecture in Odd Fellows' Hall, corner Market and Summer streets, Lynn, Mass., under the auspices of District Alliance No. 10, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

This lecture has been arranged for by the District Alliance for the purpose of dispelling the haze and smoke which permeates the atmosphere of the labor movement of this vicinity at the present time.

With the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union scabbing it upon the Knights of Labor Cutlers and Stitches, the American Labor Union, making unavailing efforts to get a foothold for its organization, it is high time that the position of the Alliance were made clear to the working class of Lynn.

Comrades in and around Boston and Lynn should attend this lecture without fail. The subject will be "Trades Unionism, the Old and the New." Lecture will begin at 2:30 p. m. Tickets 15 cents.

Work in Newark.

A meeting of Swedish machinists, held yesterday forenoon at 242 Plane street, Newark, N. J., was addressed by Comrades Olson and French of the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A., the former speaking in Swedish and the latter in English.

The speakers explained the aims and objects of the alliance, the necessity for such an organization on the economic field and the duty of every class-conscious worker to join and support it. The meeting lasted an hour and a half, after which a number of signatures were secured to an application for a charter for a local Alliance, which is to be formed in that locality.

GOOD ALLIANCE WORK.

Woonsocket, R. I., March 7.—Two independent mills in this city, Dunn's and Gillett's, have singled out their looms on fancy woolen and worsted work. These concerns have for years been trying to maintain a two-loom system of doubling up as many weavers as could be obtained to run. Since the great strike against the two-loom system in the mills of the American Woolen Company there has been a general let up on the plan all around.

The final abandonment of it in those two mills, by which forty-one additional weavers have been put to work, is the result of the good work of L. A. 385, S. T. & L. A., which has grown into a strong organization of the textile workers of this locality.

MEETING OF D. A. 40.

The regular meeting of District Alliance No. 40 was held on Thursday evening, March 5, in The Daily People building. In the absence of the district president and vice-president, Comrade Jacobson, of Local Alliance No. 42, was elected chairman.

Credentials from the Independent Walters' Union, L. A. 393, for Charles Perence and Jacob Faerber were received and the delegates seated.

The district secretary reported that he had organized an Independent Walters' Union on February 20; that he had called two meetings of the Karl Marx Club, L. A. 355, but both were a failure; that L. A. 42, of Yonkers, had requested two speakers for agitation meeting. Comrades Corrigan and Kinneally had been assigned to speak for them. Secretary had also attended meeting of L. A. 252; attendance fair, and of the Ladies' Tailors Union, L. A. 390. Report received.

Auditing committee failing to report, Comrades Rathkopf and Hanlon were removed, and Vinauer and Jacobson elected to fill the vacancy.

ROLL CALL OF LOCALS.

L. A. 42—Would hold agitation meetings on March 12 and 24.

L. A. 140, 170 and 2294 reported progress.

L. A. 274, progress; admitted one new member. At the next meeting they would consider plans for agitation.

L. A. 390, reported having voted on the amendments to the constitution and would hold a special meeting on Saturday evening, March 7.

L. A. 393, reported they had now over a hundred members; that they had organized McKinley Hall on Fourth street and would have their office at Orpheum Music Hall, 125th street, from next Monday on. The next business meeting would be held on Friday, March 13, in Orpheum Music Hall, 125th street, at 3 o'clock.

Comrades Katz and Kinneally were assigned as the speakers.

On motion, the delegates of Section New York were instructed to arrange to have Alliance Walters on March 22.

On motion, the secretary was instructed to try and hold another meeting of L. A. 355 on Wednesday evening, March 11, at Comrade Twomey's.

Ladies' Tailors' Union.

The regular meeting of the above named organization will take place on Saturday, March 14, at No. 231-233 East Thirty-third street, at 8:30 p. m. sharp. Have your card with you.

Organizer.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Planters' Agents Use Threats to Secure Plantation Labor.

March. The Wage Worker is an official reproduced from the Wage Worker for

The following article and comment is monthly organ of the Socialist Labor Party, published at Detroit, Mich.:

"Section Detroit received a very interesting letter from a member who is now traveling in the South. From it we take the following explanation about conditions on the cotton plantations:

"There is a place some distance below Vicksburg called Gloster. I reached there during 'the White Cap trouble.' Negroes were leaving there by the wholesale because of threats made upon them by certain whites that if they did not leave within a certain time they would be burnt at the stake or shot.

"In conversation with one of the storekeepers, he informed me that the negroes sent them. They, the cotton planters in the northern part of Mississippi and parts of Louisiana were short of hands, and that they were offering \$5 per head for every negro or negro sent them. They, the cotton planters, of course, to pay the railroad fare of the negroes sent to them.

"These agents would go through the country around Gloster at night and tack on the doors of the negroes' cabins—or in some conspicuous place where they would be seen and read by the poor, frightened negroes the following morning—these warnings: 'Leave here in twenty-four hours or you will be burnt at the stake.'

"This is what these prostitutes resorted to in order to get the poor ignorant negroes to leave that part of the State and accept their—the agents'—invitations to go either to the plantations of North Mississippi or Louisiana, where they could live a life of peace and of comfort, and enjoy all the blessings of nature.

"The negroes were very easy victims to these smooth-tongued agents, and in this way they succeeded in getting some 300 of them to leave that part of the State around Gloster.

"Now the planters of Gloster and in that vicinity have sworn that they will lynch every agent caught for securing their negroes away. Just now they, like the planters mentioned above, are short of hands, and I am thinking they will resort to the same game that their brother planters did to get other negroes in the place of those lost by the white caps' method.

"From Baton Rouge I passed through the sugar cane raising country. There, on these sugar plantations, you can see numbers of little shanties or cabins in a group, and a little distance away you will see a large, spacious building, with a porch running around it, beautiful shade trees and flowers, and everything that goes to make life a pleasure and a blessing. This is 'the planter's mansion'—as they call it. The most of these plantations' hands—so I am told by some of their number—are paid off in checks, and these checks are only recognized at the plantation store. So you can readily see how easy it is under such a system for the planters to skin them both ways.

"This is the condition of affairs as I found them in this part of Louisiana.

"Here, in New Orleans, I saw something I never witnessed